

Pattern Begins to Emerge From Communist Parley

C.S.M.

By Paul Wohl

Written for The Christian Science Monitor

Now that fairly complete information on the recent 19th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party is available and the first non-Communist eyewitnesses have returned from Moscow, it is possible to appraise the event and summarize its main features as follows:

1. The party occupies a place outside and above the people and the state. Its congress met in the hermetically sealed-off Kremlin behind high walls and closed doors. No outsider was admitted nor did the delegates address outside audiences as in the past. The barrier between party and people was complete. There was not the slightest evidence of popular interest in the proceedings despite an unending stream of press and radio propaganda which would have allowed passers-by to stop and listen to the major speeches as they came pouring out of the loud-speakers.

2. The party has become a self-perpetuating organization of privileged executives. The men who stepped out of the many hundred well-kept and comfortable cars parked at the Kremlin gates looked like prosperous, energetic businessmen, bankers, officers, and engineers. Only 14 of the more than 1,200 delegates had joined the party before the revolution.

Stalin Uncontested

3. Prime Minister Joseph Stalin's supremacy is uncontested. Deputy Prime Minister and Party Secretary Georgi Malenkov was permitted to read the report of the central committee, but throughout the congress his report was referred to without any of the adorning epithets reserved for the writings or statements of "The Boss." Only playwright Alexander Korneichuk of the Ukraine, politically a lame duck, eulogized the report of the man who was supposed to be the Red Czarevich. It also is believed significant that Mr. Malenkov was not chosen to speak on the 35th anniversary of the revolution. He remains one of the top leaders under Stalin but he still is only one of the major cogs in the machine.

4. The party has emerged as a superstate. State administration and party now are almost symmetrically organized. But comparison of the party presidium and of that of the Supreme Soviet shows clearly which is on top. The presidium of the party's central committee is headed by Stalin, that of the supreme soviet by the colorless Nikolai Shernik. The party presidium has among its members 11 out of 15 deputy premiers; the Soviet presidium includes only one Deputy Premier. The 36-man party presidium contains the top executives and officials; that of the Supreme Soviet mainly figureheads without weight or real responsibility. Only six of its 31 members also belong to the party presidium; all of them politically of second or third rank. A ten-man secretariat consisting of department heads gives the party all the earmarks of a state administration.

Party Purge Looms

5. The party now also has its own police and seems to be headed for an extensive, although possibly undramatic, purge. The cleanup job has been entrusted to a reorganized party control committee headed by Stalin's contemporary, Matvei F. Shkiryatov, one of the few remaining prerevolutionary genuine worker-Bolsheviks. Already before the congress Mr. Shkiryatov had quietly taken the place of A. A. Andreyev as chairman of the former party control committee. Plenipotentiary inspectors of the new committee are to be placed in strategic positions throughout the party machine. Mr. Shkiryatov

is used to be connected with the People's Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. His appointment indicates that the new committee with its broader jurisdiction will become for the party what the "secret-political administration" of the Ministry of State Security is for the Soviet state.

6. The new "supreme party organs" are merely a facade for Stalin's personal dictatorship. While the 12-man Politburo still could be considered a policy-making institution, the new presidium which is supposed to have taken its place is much too large for that purpose. Several of its members are stationed more than a thousand miles from Moscow. The new secretariat, on the other hand, cannot be a policy-making body because most of its members are of secondary importance. This leaves Stalin free to choose his advisers, as it suits him, irrespective of the "supreme party organs." The future will show whether the small nucleus of indispensable advisers will be established formally as the bureau of the presidium, as some students of Soviet affairs believe, or whether it will be an ad hoc committee chosen by the chairman from among the members of the presidium as he sees fit. In any case, it will not be a firmly established institution as the politburo.

Post-Stalin Provisions

7. Stalin has taken precautions to secure the continuity of the party-state after his passing. Instead of designating a successor, he has set up two new institutions which include every leading personality of the U.S.S.R.: the new central committee of 235 members (125 full members and 110 alternates without vote), and the presidium. Although neither is suited to govern, their weight is much greater than that of the Politburo or that of the former central committee. It has become so great, in fact, that it may act as a counterpoise against the kind of crude rivalry among two or three top leaders which in the case of Stalin's passing, might assert itself in the Politburo. By giving every major agency of party and state a representation on the central committee the Prime Minister-Chairman-Generalissimo may hope to establish a balance of power within the party after his demise.

8. The men at the top have changed very little, if at all. With the exception of A. A. Andreyev who has been demoted to an ordinary member of the central committee, all members of the Politburo are included in the presidium. Alexei N. Kosygin's appointment as an alternate member is only a minor setback because both members and alternates attend meetings, and voting under Stalin is a matter of form.

Missing Faces

The personnel of the old central committee also has been taken over. Almost all its surviving members and alternates belong to the new central committee. Notable exceptions are Messrs. Manuilsky, Voznessensky, and Lozovsky.

Dmitri Z. Manuilsky has been in eclipse since 1949. It was under his leadership in the Comintern that the Tito, Slansky, Gomułka, and other "traitors" became prominent. This now is believed to be held against him. Salomon A. Lozovsky, an old trade-union man, was last in evidence as a Foreign Office spokesman during the war. His disappearance is said to have something to do with his wartime association with Jewish groups.

Nikolai A. Voznessensky's disappearance as a full member of the Politburo and head of Gosplan remains a mystery.

The most important single result of the congress is that the party machine, far from dissolving into the state administration, has emerged as a superstate of privileged executives under a modern boss-tyrant-despot-high priest all rolled in one, but with a sufficiently broad institutional base to carry on after he is gone.

This is an unprecedented two-rule system under which the party-state, governed by its own hierarchy in accordance with its own bylaws, is superimposed upon the legal Soviet state administration with its conventional constitution and its Supreme Soviet or parliament representing the entire people.

17

BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

Moscow Is a City of Pilgrimage
For World Reds, Stalin Idolized
As God by Nation of AtheistsLikeness of Dictator in All Public Places
Indicates Baseness of Nation's System,
Dwarfs Its People — Propaganda Has
Invaded Field of Art.

By GERARD FILION

Editor of Le Devoir of Montreal

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PART OF A SERIES

MONTREAL

MOSCOW is a city of pilgrimage. The city's large hotels, the Soyuzdetfilm, the National, the Metropole, the Savoy, where Intourist puts up foreigners, are filled to capacity at all times with delegates from all parts of the world. Intellectuals, scientists, non leaders, politicians and run-of-the-mill agitators, one and all converge on Moscow to admire the accomplishments of Marxist civilization.

A strange phenomenon struck me during my brief stay.

The Communists for whom the Iron Curtain is lifted return from their visit more Communist than ever. The non-Communists return as anti-Communists.

A case in point was an Arab companion on our trip. An Algerian nationalist, a lawyer and a man of culture, he had left for Algeria favorably disposed. He returned deeply anti-Communist, those who were Communists before the trip returned home with renewed faith.

I don't know what is shown to rangers who spend several weeks in Russia, but I do know at much is made of public works—projects either completed or under way. The Don-Volga canal, which allows navigation on the Black sea to the Caspian sea, is high on the list of showpieces.

Museums Are Show Places.

Those who spend only a short while in Moscow are shown the city's best neighborhoods and particularly the museums.

The civic museum is typical. The guide explains the city's evolution through the ages. When he gets to the Soviet era, his prepared speech becomes lyrical. He tour ends with an expose of future plans for the city.

Visitors are seated before a large map and, for a good 20 minutes, the guide describes what the city will look like when it is completely reconstructed. The swartzy — and they are legion — non visitors — leave with the impression that all this is already accomplished.

The Stalin museum is worth seeing. It houses all the gifts sent to Russia's dictator on his twentieth birthday. The array includes the unlikely testimonials as well as the most touching.

Stalin's disciples go to the extreme lengths to send offerings symbolizing their faith in Communism. Priceless works of art have been relegated to attic rooms to make way for these gifts.

of the Communist party which was closing that same day.

"Will there be a great public meeting to wind up the meeting?" he asked naively.

Both men burst out laughing, saying to themselves, "Where does this fellow come from?"

"No. There will be no great public meeting," replied one of them.

Comrade Stalin is a very distant and inaccessible comrade. Cloistered in the Kremlin, he appears only rarely in public and on very important occasions.

Comrade . . . and Guns.

In our "capitalist dictatorships," the head of the government is a man like anyone else. One meets him on the street on his way to work, often on foot, who shakes hands with people he meets. In "popular democracies," the chief of state is a comrade, but a comrade well protected by machine guns.

Propaganda has gone far beyond the public places; it has penetrated into the field of art. I saw marionette shows in Prague and Moscow. In both cases, the villain is a gun-toting, whiskey-drinking, skirt-chasing capitalist. His pockets bulge with dollars. Happily the hero, that is to say, the Communist, always wins in the end.

In Moscow I spent a memorable afternoon in a marionette theater for children. The audience consisted of about 100 children, averaging 15 years of age. They did not seem to find the program particularly amusing. They were either too bored or flummoxed at the sight of a poor child being splattered under the wheels of a capitalist's limousine to give vent to their emotions.

During intermissions the fun and horseplay was no different from the games enjoyed by children everywhere.

The movies have the same heavy propaganda brush. If a gangster is portrayed, he invariably is an American.

I doubt that people can be dupes of such heavy-handed and inartistic methods. If they are, propaganda has surely killed every ounce of their artistic judgment.

Soviet Poet Jibes Wiley

On Yuletide Ornaments

12/5/52 By the Associated Press

MOSCOW, Dec. 5.—Pravda

loosed a poetic blast at United States Senator Wiley today, charging that the Wisconsin Republican wants to keep Communist-made Christmas ornaments out of the United States to protect the market for American yuletide items—"everything down the line from children's bombs to children's cannons."

The verse comment on Senator Wiley's remarks earlier this week was made in the Communist Party organ by Sergei Mikhalkov, the Soviet Union's leading versifier for children.

Senator Wiley, who is slated to be chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in the coming Republican Congress, said in his weekly newsletter to Wisconsin constituents that the Iron Curtain countries are flooding the United States with Red-made Christmas tree ornaments. He termed it one of the Communists'

"most diabolical conspiracies" to get dollar exchange by underselling American producers with decorations subsidized by the Soviet government.